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FROM A FRIENDLY STATE TO A HEGEMONIC NEIGHBOUR: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Politically, economically, and militarily India is the most powerful country in South Asia. The neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, and Pakistan are relatively small and weak in power. Therefore, India wants to control, supervise, and lead over these countries in the region.

Bangladesh is strategically very important for India. India's security and integrity mostly lies on Bangladesh. Other two regional power; China and Pakistan also want Bangladesh on their side to tackle India which may be a big threat to India's security and integrity. Historically India Bangladesh had very friendly relations. But India changes its policy from friendly state to a coercive state as soon as Bangladesh tried to develop its relations with China.

This research paper examine why and how India establishes her hegemony over Bangladesh. It argues that Hegemonic Stability Theory, which is believed by Indian authority, can only provide a security and stability for the region. But India is looking beyond that. It is searching for a greater united India or a Indian lead South Asia so that no other regional power can dominate the region.

INTRODUCTION

India's geographical position, massive geographical size, big population, strong economy, powerful military, and physical link with all other South Asian countries made it a regional powerful country. Its current dream is to become a true uncontested regional superpower and then an international power. In long term, it wants to build a unified central India merging all other small countries of this region in it. If that mission is not possible to fulfil, at least India wants to lead the region keeping all the countries under its full control.

Bangladesh is strategically very important country for both India and China. For India, it is very important for its own security and integrity. For China, it could be a very good ally to control its rival and break its integrity. If Bangladesh falls under the sphere of China's influence, it will be a big threat for India's security and integrity. Therefore, India uses its all 'soft power' means to improve its tie with Bangladesh. It also uses its coercive means to establish its hegemon over it.

Bangladesh, a small country in the South Asian region, is situated literally inside a giant country India. India surrounded Bangladesh from three sides by its land border and on one side is a coastal area of 'Bay of Bengal'. Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and the Maldives is also relatively small in size, population, economic, and human resources. These all countries are not competitive with India in any sense.

India alone occupies 72 percent of the land surface in South Asia whereas the other seven neighbouring countries own only 28 percent of the land surface. It is 22 times bigger in terms of size than Bangladesh. India's population is 1.38 billion whereas Bangladesh has 165 million which is equal to the population of a state in India. 77 percent of the region's population resides in India and the other seven countries have only 23 percent population compared with India. According to the World Monetary Fund (IMF), India's economy is ranked the world's fifth-largest economy by GDP and third largest by purchasing power parity (PPP). India accounts for 75 percent of the regional economic output. The major quantum of its foreign aid is given to its neighbouring countries. It has promised \$4.5 billion in loans in 2017 and Rs 300 financial assistance to Bangladesh in 2021. (The Daily Star, 2022)

India's military has been ranked as the 4th most powerful military in the world and the top in the South Asian region. It is the sixth nuclear power country with a strong military force with all modern military equipment. Its military capabilities have made the country a primary regional force in South Asia. India's nuclear status also enabled the country to make a fear controlling the other neighbouring countries. (Bhasin, 2008).

India wants to establish its hegemon over Bangladesh due to historical, political, and economic reasons. It believes Hinduism is the ancient culture of the region and Islam is a foreign culture came from Middle East only in medieval time. So, they do not want to accept any dominance of any other culture rather they reclaim their hierarchy over all other culture in the region. The creation of Pakistan and India by the colonial powers was merely a division of a united India. So, Indian Hindu community believe this division could not solve Hindu Muslim communal problems. The real solution lies in the reunification of India. Evidence proved that just after Independence of India in 1947, India invaded dozens of semi-sovereign princely states such as Hyderabad, Junagadh, Goa, Daman, Diu, Jammu and Kashmir through ruthless military force and later merge them into India. (Shahdat, 2014)

Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) demonstrate that if small and relatively weaker countries come in the control of a powerful stronger country then political and security stability establish in the system. Advocating this notion,

India have been trying to manifest a hegemony over regional small countries including Bangladesh. But India's track records frustrated the neighbouring countries. It come as a friend but later it dominates over the friends. Therefore, neighbouring countries are trying to maintain a balance of power creating regional institutions or lining with China's assistance.

Bangladesh has no land border with China, but China's location is not far from Bangladesh. Although China is not a member of SAARC of South Asia, but it is considered as neighbouring countries of the region due to its location, and relations with neighbouring countries. China wants to expand its influence over South Asia. As a result, a political competition has started between China and India over the region. Just as India wants its control over every country in South Asia, China also wants its control over these countries. Both India and China want Bangladesh to keep in their own influence.

Understanding Hegemon

'Hegemony' words came to English from Greek word 'hegemonia' a noun derived from the verb 'hegeisthai' which refers '**to lead**' or '**control**'. Ancient Greek used to use the word to refer a 'politico-military' dominance of the state over a small city state. Antonio Gramsci, a Marxist philosopher introduced the word in the field of 'social science' to develop a theory of cultural domination to analyse the social structure. (Nugent, 2007). Dirzauskaite claimed in his article 'Understanding Hegemony in International Theory' that 'Robert Keohane' brought this term into IR literature to describe the dominance of a powerful state over a weaker state. (Dirzauskaite, 2017). Since then, the term gained popularity and used in the various level of academic discipline.

It is a highly debatable concept in international relation's field especially when two definitions differ from each other. In a simple word, hegemony is understood when a powerful actor dominates over another actor through either coercive force or influential manner. When a country hegemon over another country, it controls its culture, economy, politics and even military. This could happen directly using hard power such as military force or indirectly through using soft power such as leadership or financial aid. Hegemony is conditional on two factors: actor's ability to hold sufficient power and willingness to exercise it over others. (Russet, 1985). Hegemony is distinct from Empire because a hegemonic power rules by influencing other states rather than by controlling them or their territory.

To understand the hegemonic theory, it can be trace back to an ancient history of Sparta. Greek state of Sparta came to dominate Greek peninsula in 404 BC when it defeated Athens in the Peloponnesian war. Sparta then solely focused on building a strong military force. Within next 30 years of time Spartan hegemon influenced rest of Greece. Then Greece engages in a decade long war. After the war Sparta control the whole area. This control and dominance allowed Greeks to enjoy a short period of peace and stability. (Sullivan, 2021). The 'Hegemonic stability theory' (HST) develop from this idea.

The proponent of **Hegemonic stability theory** (HST) argue that international system is more likely to remain stable when a single state is a dominant power or hegemon. Therefore, the end of hegemon is the end of stability in world order. as evidence of stability, they forward the examples of British empire before world war I and the American hegemon after the second world war. They believe that inter war instability took place due to the lack of hegemon. (Webb and Krasner, 2009).

Kindleberger, Gilpin and Stephen Krasner are considered as a strong proponent of HST. they argued that the occurrence of economic crisis in between the first and second world war which led the world to a great depression (1929 to 1939), was due to the lack of world single leadership. Therefore, hegemon only can guarantee the stability and security and the absence it could led to chaos and crisis. On the other hand, the opponents of HST such as Keohane, and Ikenberry argue that international system could remain stable in the absence of a single hegemon. As evidence they forwarded the government's support for the international system. They believe that the support of government alleviated the economic chaos. (Webb and Krasner, 2009).

Alternative to the hegemon is called '**Balance of power**' system. In this system countries gain equal power, and no single country can dominate over others. When a state become much stronger, it takes advantages from the weaker neighbours. Either the stronger state forces the weaker to merge with it or drive it to unite in a coalition. So, Balance of Power theory suggests that weaker state can survive preventing the stronger state gaining military power. After the world war I, German empire was broken into parts and some parts of that empire given to France to create a balance of power. So, in western Europe there is no countries more powerful than others.

In term of India's hegemon over the region including Bangladesh, Mearsheimer's argument will be more relevant to describe the issue. Mearsheimer define a regional hegemon as a state that dominates distinct geographical areas and is so powerful that all the other state in the system is unable to challenge it. Merely power does not imply hegemony; it is more a behavioural trait than just structural attributes. If the power implementation is associated with egoistic, self-serving goals, overlooking the interests of those over whom it is exercised, it is considered hegemony. (Bhasin, 2008). In the light of this argument India has all characteristics to name it a hegemonic power in the region.

Why India wants its Hegemony

Before revealing its hegemonic character, it is necessary to discuss why India wants its hegemony in the region including in Bangladesh.

India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru took two very important foreign and neighbourhood policy for country's defence and prosperity, and that is Nonalignment and Panchsheel. Non-alignment refers not to be the part of any great power of cold war. And Panchsheel refers five great principles such as (1) Mutual respect for each other territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) Mutual

nonaggression, (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (4) Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit and (5) peaceful coexistence. (Sahoo, 2016). Although initially, India follows this policy for few years, but the later rulers moved away from this policy. There are many historical, political, and economical reasons behind it.

Firstly, the entire Indian sub-continent was inhabited and ruled by Hindus for hundreds of years until Muslim conquer this area in the early thirteen hundred century. Then Muslim ruled the Indian sun-continent for six hundred years. British colonial power occupies the power from Muslim in 1757. The Hindus believed that Hinduism is the religion of this land and Islam is a foreign religion invaded their land while the Muslim believe vice versa. During the British colonial era, Hindus cooperate with the English rulers and took all official jobs and Muslim rejected to cooperate with British invaders and remain out of state sponsored jobs. As a result, the distance between Hindu and Muslim increased furthermore. The Muslims in the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah demanded to British Raj for a separate Muslim country in the basis of religion. But the Hindu community rejected such separation. Ruther, they wanted a united India ruled by Hindus where Muslim can stay as a subject. Finally, the colonial power agreed to partition India in the basis of Hindu-Muslim two nation theory. In August 1947 two new country emerged in the world map and that they are Pakistan and India.

Indian Hindu community still believe in a 'United One India' concept. Even though this truth is not said in officially by the rulers, but some political parties and politician still have been openly demanding this issue. World Hindu organisation (VHP), RSS, Shiv Sena among them are publicly demands for reunification of India. (Khan, 2014). In a recent history, Indian Law maker Subramanian Swamy belongs to the Indian ruling party BJP demanded his country to invade Bangladesh and occupy it. (South Asia, 2021). To implement this utopian agenda, India needs an overwhelming power throughout the region. Therefore, it needs to bring all its neighbouring countries into its own control. But the sovereign countries and their people never accept it. So, Hegemony is the only way to control them.

Secondly, Pakistan is a political rival of India since the initiation of country. Pakistan wants to develop a '**Muslim bloc**' in the south Asian region. Among the eight members of 'SAARK', 4 members e.g., Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Maldives are Muslim country. Only two are Hindu and rest two are mix with both Hindu and Muslim. But they are not happy with India at all. So, if Pakistan can develop a new bloc in this region, then India will be a lonely country in entire region which may seriously affect its economy and security. Therefore, hegemony is the only way to keep Bangladesh away from Pakistan dividing the region.

Thirdly, there are three big regional power such as China, India, and Pakistan in this area and one external power which also a big actor in the region is America. These four strong players are very much active to polarise the region. China with the help of Pakistan want to influence the regional small countries like Bangladesh through financial aid and security agreements. On the other

hand, India with the support and assistance with America want to keep them in his influence. This rivalry and political race some time make India to force its friendly state to listen to him or do what it wants. China has more than three thousand km long borders with India. In that side China's border force always present to monitor Indian activity. China has also military bases in Indian ocean which is another side of India. It has also strong presence in Nepal and Sri Lanka which is not far from Indian border. Bangladesh which is located inside India is also on the way to China's influence. (Khan, 2014). So, basically China has surrounded India from all sides. Now one option is available is that India can keep the neighbouring small countries including Bangladesh in his influence so that China cannot use their soil to threat India. Therefore, India has to manage its neighbour in a diplomatic manner if not then in coercive manner.

Fourthly, Bangladesh is a huge market for both India with one hundred seventy million people. India exports more than \$10.78 billion US dollar to Bangladesh every year which was only \$9 billion during covid 19. India wants to keep this huge market under its own control.

Finally, India has a dream to lead the whole South Asian region as a big brother or as a representative of any superpower either of America or Russia. Through the regional superpower India can achieve a status of international power gradually. To accomplish its dream, India needs its neighbour even though they are small in size and economy.

Initiation of Hegemony over Bangladesh

The initiation of India's hegemony over Bangladesh has a long history and later it is evolved gradually through several phases. First three phases have been considered as an initiation and the next two phase is considered as the development of it. The first phase was during the colonial era, second phase was during the time of liberation war, third phase was post-war Mujib era. fourth was during the military backed Moinuddin Fakhruddin era and fifth is the era of current prime minister Shaikh Hasina.

First phase:

During the colonial era Hindu Community of India became a ruling class citizen and Muslim became their subject. A culture then developed that Hindu meant controller and Muslim meant subject. Carl Marx' 'Theory of Ruling Class and Ruled Class' and Mearsheimer's definition of hegemony describe this culture very well.

Carl Marx theory of ruling class and rule class describe the dominance and the power of a class over the other class in the society. The ruling class dominate the society through controlling the power, economy, politics, and social norms. The ruling class, he argues, appear as dominant over the ruled class. The ruling class control and directs the production while the other class are producers and service providers to the dominant class. The dominant class, according to Marx, control not only materials production but also production of ideas. It leads to a particular culture of political system in which the ruling class control the ruled

class through political and economic means and gradually they establish their dominance over them. (Sweezy, 1956). This idea of Marx's social science is known as hegemony as in political science. Mearsheimer also added that hegemony is not only the power but also a behavioural trait associated with egoistic, self-serving goals, overlooking the interests of those over whom it is exercised. This ruling class nation has been created by the British in two hundred years within the Indian society to dominate by a class of people over the other classes. The following historical fact may clarify the nation further.

The south Asian region is enriched by its diversity of race, culture, religion, and language. Among the other religions, two large religious community Muslim and Hindu live in India for centuries. Muslim Empire 'Mughal' was ruling the region for centuries. Then British took over the land and ruled for another two hundred years.

Since the invasion of British colonial power, Indian Hindu society collaborated with the British, took their ideas and educations, all the official jobs, higher official positions, and all advantages of the government. As a result, the Muslims fell behind.

The Muslim were disappointed and angry at this cooperative behaviour of the Hindus towards British. During this period, the relationship of Muslim and Hindu deteriorated furthermore. Historically Hindu-Muslim relations was exceptionally good with community cohesion and harmony in the region. In the scope this social disorder, British adopted a new political policy of 'Divide and rule' among Hindu-Muslim. Government start helping Hindus and pushing back the Muslims.

The perception of Muslim was that they have been ruling this land for centuries. So, they are the legitimate rulers of the land, and the British are the occupying invaders. As a consequence, the Muslims rejected English education, western ideas, Governments facilities and state systems. Rather, they created their own education system, social order and so on. Subsequently, the Muslim community fell behind while the Hindu community took over the hierarchy.

So, since the invasion of India by British in 1757 till 1947 nearly two hundred years Hindu people were in hierarchy in position along with the British and Muslim were their subject and loyalists. Hindus were political leaders and Muslims were their followers. Hindus were the owners and investors of industries while Muslims were their labours. This is how Hindu always claim their hierarchical position over Muslim and always play a vital role in politics and society.

Second Phase:

The creation of Bangladesh was a huge exercise of an Indian supremacy in the region. Pakistan and Bangladesh were one country until 1971 it is declared its independence. When the war of independence started, India itself became interested and happily participated in the war. The India's primary objective was to break up his Muslim neighbour and his prime rival and competitor. Even

though it was a war between Bangladesh vs Pakistan, but the Indian perspective was that it was a war between India and Pakistan. Therefore, it was a great chance for India to show its military might to its rival. Ataul Gani Osmani known as MAG Osmani, a Bangladeshi indigenous military officer was the commander in chief of the War. As soon as the India jumped in the war, they took over the leadership without knowing the commander. General Arura, army head of India, forced Pakistani army head Niyazi to surrender to him, not to the head of Bangladesh army MAG Osmani. (Khan, 2021).

70 million of Bangladeshi people fought nine months against Pakistan, lost three million of its people. India was not even a party of the war, just came to help Bangladeshis. Bangladesh and Pakistan knew this truth. But through the use of their military might, India established a hegemon over Pakistan and Bangladesh and hijacked the war and victory. Neither Bangladesh nor Pakistan could do anything against India. Using this history, India wants to suppress both Bangladesh and Pakistan till today.

Third Phase:

The Architect of Bangladesh and the leader of Awami League Shaikh Mujibur Rahman was strong enough to lead the country. However, due to many problems in the newly independent country, he had to seek help from the only neighbouring country India. But India took advantage of this opportunity to expand its dominance in the newly independence country. India and Russia jointly convinced Mr Mujib to implement their ideas in this land. He embedded four principles in Bangladesh constitution which all are taken from either Russian or Indian model. The independence movement was based on democracy, nationalism, equality, and human rights. (Khan, 2021). But after the war, he added Secularism and Socialism as the core principles of Bangladesh while the country separated from India based on religious line. It was nothing with secularism and socialism.

Country's agricultural economy developed as a market economy through individual ownership. People was not familiar with socialist economy which grant a social cooperative system owned by society and controlled by government. These two new ideas imposed on him to add in the new constitution. The Indian authority designed to change the economic culture into their own way and made it different from Pakistan. This system did not work and could not implemented at all during Mujib's time or later. Rather it has been amended immediate after his assassination.

India and Bangladesh signed their official agreement of friendship the 'Treaty of Friendship, cooperation and peace' in 1972, just before the eve of its first anniversary. The twelve articles of the treaty are designed to respect the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Bangladesh. But there are some clauses of the treaty ruin the sovereignty of the country. According to this treaty Bangladesh will support India in all international issues. it says that it shall not enter into any military alliance against the other party (Article 8). It also says that it shall not undertake any commitment secret or open with any state which may be incompatible with the treaty. (Article 10). (Rahman, 2021).

Therefore, Bangladeshi thinktank and political analyst Mahmudur Rahman, Pinaki Bhattacharya, and Forhad Mazhar considered it as a slavery treaty. This treaty took 25 years to expire. Within this time Bangladesh could not make any military agreement freely or could act in international fora in own choice. Controlling a sovereign country like this is a clear political hegemon.

During the early era of Shaikh Mujib, a significant number of daily, weekly, and periodical newspaper published by several organisation. Later he banned all newspaper apart from only four state sponsor newspaper. All newspaper has to sign a document that the newspaper will not write anything against the friendly country of Bangladesh. this friendly country means India. It means no newspaper has the right to write anything against India. Mr Mujib promised this commitment with India that his government or in his time no citizen will be tolerated to say anything against India. Those newspaper had showed their dare of doing this, they had been banned forever. Pinaki Bhattacharyya explained this concept in an interview with popular online channel 'Dr Konak Sarwar'. (Konak, 2021).

It was a popular believe that the prime minister of Bangladesh Shaikh Mujib used to run the country according to the suggestions of Indian government. According to the suggestion of his friend, Mr Mujib himself banned all political party within 3 years of independence. Only one political party which was his new political party 'BAKSAL', was allowed, and no other political party was allowed. The man fought for democracy against Pakistan for nine months, banned democracy within 3 years of independence. He changed the country from democracy to dictatorship on the advice of India. (Riaz, 2017). So, India's dream was to establish an obedient government in Bangladesh so that it never goes against India.

Mr. Mujib was exiled in London during the war of independence. When the war was over, the people of the country were waiting to give him a warm reception. but the exile leader went to India first instead going to Bangladesh directly to express his loyalty to India. This was an open secret control of India over the leader of a newly liberated country.

In the early eighties, most of the Muslim countries were leaning towards the American bloc while India wanted to keep Bangladesh in a socialist bloc which is led by the USSR. Even Mr Mujib himself wished for the same. But as a result of his wrong economic policy, a huge famine occurred in Bangladesh in 1974. Thousands of people died in this famine. At that time, he had no other option but asking the Muslim world for help to save the people of the country from the famine. So, he attended in a high-profile summit held in Lahore Pakistan arranged by organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1974. He attended in this conference without pre-negotiating with India. As a result, India became angry, and disappointed. (Maudud, 1984)

Mr Mujib has been assassinated along with his family in a dark night of 1975 by a group of military association with his party members. His death after attending this conference raised many questions which never been answered. It

has not been possible to find out whether the disappointment of India was the cause of his death. But some of his killers took refuge in India for lifetime.

Fourth phase:

Ziaur Rahman's political party BNP ruled Bangladesh long time. As a party chairperson Mr Rahman and his widow Khaleda Zia was in the centre of the power. But they tried to maintain a balance with all powerful neighbour like India and China. Mrs Khaleda, who was considered as an anti-Indian moderate leader, was in her office for her third term until 2006. She made an alliance with the major political parties of Bangladesh which enabled her to grab the power unchallengeable for a long time.

But Moinuddin Fakhruddin, a military backed caretaker government, overthrow Khaleda Zia and brought Shaikh Hasina, daughter of Shaikh Mujib in power. During their two years of rule, Mr Moinuddin and Fakhruddin visited India several times and accepted valuable gifts from there. As caretaker government they supposed to day-to-day work and a fair election. India influenced them heavily to bring a pro-Indian party to the power. Finally, Shaikh Hasina of AL chairperson came to the power with a chaotic controversial election. Journalist Mahmudur Rahman argued that AL would not come to the power ever in Bangladesh if India did not interfere in that election. (Rahman, 2021). So, no political party can come to the power if they are not loyal to India. No matter how big the party or strong their alliance is. This is all happened because India had a strong control over Moinuddin Fakhruddin regime. The consequence of that was Sheikh Hasina still in power for last fifteen years without any credible election but the favour of India. So, during the time of Moinuddin Fakhruddin, the Indian dominance over Bangladesh flourished widely.

Fifth Phase:

final phase was the era of Shaikh Hasina which is considered as a honeymoon period for India. Shaikh Hasina, the daughter of Mujibur Rahman took asylum in India after the assassination of her father Shaikh Mujibur Rahman. Three years later she returns to Bangladesh and became the chairperson of the party. She has been in the power for almost 15 years since 2008. There is enough evidence existed that she came to the power in the direct support of India and also remain in power in the support of India. In return, adopting a weak submissive foreign policy, she gave India many opportunities in bilateral issues. (Rahman, 2021).

As it is mentioned before that China and Pakistan are two major actors in this region. Any initiative excluding these two actors will be threat to the security for Bangladesh. even though India has been trying to do that, but no previous government took this responsibility before Hasina. In her first visit to India, Hasana signed two very important agreement with India. The first one is security pact called 'Sub-Regional Cooperation Alliance' and the second one is 'Bengal initiative for Multi sectoral technical and Economic Cooperation' (BIMSTEC). The members of this alliance are the small neighbouring countries such as Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. They did not include

other two potential neighbours and the major actors Pakistan or China. Through this action India mainly tried to keep Bangladesh in his influence and away from Pakistan and China's sphere. Another major political victory of India was gaining the road connectivity and the use of seaports. India will use road connectivity to go to the other part of India through Bangladesh without paying any tax. Similarly, it will use several seaports of Bangladesh to carry its goods to take them to north-eastern of India and there is no tax for it.

On the other hand, there are dozens of bilateral issues such as border killing, river water supply issues, Farakka dam, immigration control issue, illegal trade in border which are needed to resolve urgently. But India failed to resolve all outstanding issues rather it creates more new issues. India hardly listens to its weak smaller neighbours, but it forces them to listen to him. This is how India spreading its hegemon over Bangladesh along with the region.

Political and Economic Hegemony:

John Agnew argue that hegemony is the exercise of power by convincing, cajoling and coercing them that they should want what you want. He also said that political hegemony is acquire more power and exercise power beyond their current boundaries through diplomatic channels and institutions. It is not hegemon to use always row materials of military. Hegemony some time refers the use of mix coercion and consent that allows a state or group to set the rules for political, military, and economic interaction. The hegemonic entity uses soft power in most of the cases to acquire the objectives. (John, 2005)

In the 20th century The United States of America (USA) and The United State of Socialist Russia (USSR) appear two power country in the world politics. The US influenced a group of states and develop a political bloc while the USSR did the same to develop its own bloc. They both use political means and even some time coercive measure to bring the countries into their own influence. In the Middle East America is a big actor guarantor of the security of the region while the USSR became a dominant power in Eastern Europe. In twentieth Century, the US came forward with the idea of number of international organizations such as NATO, WTO, World Bank, IMF and so on. This organizations enabled the US to set a sort of control over the over the other territory beyond its borders. Same political power game has been played for last fifty years in South Asian region. In this region, India, Pakistan, and China are three big influential political actors. India territorially second largest country after China. It accounts 73.4% of the territory where the rest of the seven countries belong to only 16.6% territory. In terms of size, India is 22 times bigger than Bangladesh and some countries of the region are so smaller that they are equivalent to a state or smaller than a state of India.

It is important to understand that Bangladesh is a country located inside India. Its three-side surrounded by India and one side is a water way of the bey of Bengal. Therefore, it is strategically very important for India, Pakistan, and China. All three country wants Bangladesh to keep in their own bloc. Bangladesh is more important to India for its security reason than that of other two. So, India uses it all sorts of power such as political, economic, and military

to maintain a tie with it. India's current prime minister Narendra Modi took a neighbourhood policy which is known as 'Neighbourhood first'. His policy is different than the previous policy of 'Monroe Doctrine'. Monroe doctrine define the place of India in the region and the world. But Modi's neighbourhood first policy mainly a strong priority for neighbouring country where he aimed to expand his dominance to the neighbour and there will be no place for any other power.

The first mission of policy is to keep China away from Bangladesh. so, it is developing two sorts of relationship. The first one is bilateral and the second is regional. In the bilateral level India directly arrange high level of meeting and talks. India's presidents, prime minister, and other high official visit Bangladesh and also Bangladesh high level of official visit India. Bangladesh's prime minister and other ministers visited India number of time in last fifteen years. In these visit number of agreements and memorandum signed to secure the interests of both parties. but if those agreements are well researched, it will be seen that India is expanding its hegemon over Bangladesh in the name of various agreements.

The first official agreements signed by both is in 1972 by Indira Gandhi and Mr Mujib. According to this agreement Bangladesh cannot make any military agreement with any other country without the permission of India and also Bangladesh has to support India in international arena whether it is for or against Bangladesh. (Aktar, 2021). Due to these binding, Bangladesh could not find any other friendly country other than India. This was a clear political coercion over a sovereign country. India has a fear that it can make tie with China or Pakistan and that will be a severe damage for Indian security.

'Road Transit'¹ is one of the top demands that India has been making to Bangladesh since the creation of Bangladesh. All the previous governments of Bangladesh from Ziaur Rahman to Khaleda Zia has refused to provide any sorts of transit to India. This is because they always considered the security of the country first. This issue is directly link with the security of the country. But India finally fulfils its demand when it established a pro-Indian government in the power. This is an Indian strategy and political dominance to manage its demands.

In 1972, Shaikh Mujib's government allowed India to use a partial transit and prime minister Shaikh Hasina allowed full transit during her visit to India in 2019. Under the partial transit India was able to transfer its goods from Indian city Calcutta to another India city Dhubri, and Calcutta to Karimgonj, another city of India. (Aktar, 2021). And the full Transit was a '**Road connectivity system**', in which India will be able to go from one of its provinces to another province of it using Bangladeshi land all the way through Bangladesh.

India is a huge country which one end is far from the other end. It can minimise the distance, save huge amount of money and time if it can travel through

¹ . Road Transit between India and Bangladesh means commercial goods and transports of India moves from one place of India to another place of India through Bangladesh. India will use Bangladesh territory to go to another place of India.

Bangladesh. therefore, transit facility is a huge economic gain for India. According to 'World Bank Blogs' if Indian goods go to Northeast provinces of India through Bangladesh via Siliguri corridor than the cost of transporting goods fall by up 80%, which is really a good sum for India. Not only that but also the income of both side of Indian people raised up to 8%. (World Bank Report, 2021)

There are seven provinces of India in northeaster part of India. '**Siliguri Corridor**' is the only Gateway to go to these seven provinces. It is a narrow way of 20 to 22 km wide which is not enough to handle economic activities to these seven states of India. Siliguri Corridor is bordered with Bangladesh and Nepal. If Bangladesh ever closes this corridor for any political reasons, then India will be separated from its seven states. So, India has only option to gain access to seven sisters provinces through Bangladesh.

Seven sisters, the North-Eastern provinces of India, such as Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland, have been seeking for independence for many decades. Many armed groups have been fighting against the central government to gain liberation for the whole region. The insurgency has been increased by 14% in the recent decade. The Indian government want to reduce the insurgency using the land of Bangladesh. Under the agreement of 1972 and 2019 both reiterated that it would not allow any of its secessionists to use Bangladesh territory. From that sorts of agreement India is benefiting it in a unique way.

Indian strategy may be a good advantage for the Indian government, but it is a dangerous strategy for Bangladesh. when the separatists' parties will see Bangladeshi government helping India to dismantle their movement then they may create chaos for Bangladesh. So, the armed group may be a threat, or they can attack Bangladesh in some point. This security threat has been created by India for Bangladesh.

Transit system is very popular and well known throughout the Europe and some other part of the world. But the difference between the transit provided by Bangladesh to India and the European Transit is that the European transit is universal for member states based on equivalent effect. By using this route, all countries belonging to the European union can take advantage of equal opportunities. European Economic Community (EEC) enabled to establish a common market for its members state to offering free movement of goods, services, people, and capital. But Bangladeshi transit facilities for India is a kind of one-way system of transit. In return, no Bangladeshi transport can travel to India using the transit facilities or no goods or people can move to India under this transit agreement.

Twelve hundred thousand of Rohingya people migrated from Myanmar to Bangladesh in 2015. This crisis was a deliberate human trafficking influx created by Suki government. It was not capable for Bangladesh to provide shelter and food to so many people. Being an official, Bangladesh asked India for diplomatic help to stop the influx towards Bangladesh. but India sided with Myanmar ignoring all agreements of assistance.

There is a different ethnic group of people named as 'Upo Jati' live in the southeastern side of Bangladesh. they sometime destabilized the area creating violence with small reasons. Gradually they gain strength and became a recognized political group in the region. They are demanding for a separate land for themselves. 1972 agreements clearly demonstrate that each other will respect internal integrity and will not interfere in internal affairs. But India supporting the separatists and even helping them with arms and ammunition. (Khan, 2021).

Like road communication, Bangladesh's waterways are also very important to India. India has a business relation with the Asian and Middle Eastern countries. it imports oil, gas, coal, business commodities and household goods from Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Especially India has no seaport to do supply these goods to its north-eastern seven sister states. So, it has to travel about 2000 km to reach there which is time and money consuming. therefore, India has always been interested in using Bangladesh's water ways.

During the current India backed government, it has gained a full the access to the country's main seaport 'Chitagong seaport' and 'Mongla seaport'. Chitagong is the major and main seaport, handle 80% of import and export of the country. This is also used by navy forces for training and official purposes. By using this port, India will be able to carry out its trade activities with its North-Eastern provinces. In return Bangladesh could get something in similar or equivalent beneficial but India did not give anything. This is because a smaller weak state hardly can refuse its stronger neighbour. Hegemonic theories demonstrate that stronger states always ignore the interests of others and force to get what it wants.

India violates agreements and treaties made with its weaker neighbour to demonstrate its dominance and to undermine the other countries. Since 1972, Bangladesh has been trading with India on the basis of bilateral, regional, and international agreements. It has many bilateral agreements with India which have been signed during each government of Bangladesh. India also stages its hegemon in trade areas showing its power and politics so that the smaller countries fear it. Among them, a fundamental problem is that India makes agreements, but it is never sincere in implementing those agreements in practice. India continues to violate the agreements one after another by showing various excuses. It basically does what it is actually want, not accordance with the agreements. On the other hand, it is force other countries to follow the commitments.

A bilateral agreement was signed with India in 1973. According to this agreement, both Bangladesh and India will import and export same amount of goods so that the balance of trade is maintained. Record shows that India's export to Bangladesh in the financial year 2018-19 were 9.21 billion USD and import from Bangladesh was only 1.04 billion USD. (Hassan. 2018). This is very imbalanced trade between two friendly countries.

Bangladeshi agricultural products such as rice, potato, Jute and Jute products are very popular in international market. The garment sector of Bangladesh is a

large economic sector can provide clothes for all over the world. Big brand companies of Europe and America imports clothes from Bangladesh. According to Bangladesh Readymade Garments (RMG) reports, it has earned \$38.52 USD in last year May 2021 to July 2022. (RMG, Sep5, 2022). According to the trade agreements, Bangladesh has the right to export, and India should import Bangladeshi garments products duty free. But in reality, India set such a high tax on this product so that it does not interest to come in Indian market.

According to the agreements, both countries will make a list of products what they want from each other. India forwarded a list of 513 products that India wants to import from Bangladesh. through this list India played a game. Out of these 513 products, about 350 products do not produce in Bangladesh. of the remaining products, India has enough in similar quality in the market. The fact is that on paper the India market is open to Bangladesh. but in reality, the Indian policy has closed the door of the market for Bangladesh. dozens of business and trade agreements have been rendered void.

All the other agreements made through the regional level (SAARC) are also crushed by the policy of Indian hegemony. In 1993, with the objective of economic cooperation, trade liberalization, creation of free trade areas, and regional trade expansion, SAARC countries signed SAPTA agreement. In this agreement, South Asian countries were divided into two categories. India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka are considered as developed economic countries. And rest of the countries including Bangladesh were considered as less developed countries (LDC). (Rahman, 2021). According to the agreement, the developed countries will reduce the tariff gradually and by 1913 they will bring the tariff quota to zero. That is, after 2013 the developed countries cannot collect tariffs on the less developed countries. On the other hand, the less developed countries could collect tariffs from the developed countries until 2016.

Surprisingly the real picture is that despite India being a developed country in South Asia, and having a clear agreement, they are still imposing regular tariffs on Bangladeshi products. It is charging 20% tariffs over all goods. Without tariffs, they do not allow Bangladeshi products in their market. On the other hand, Bangladesh, despite being a less developed country, it is not charging any tariffs in India after 2016. (Rahman, 2021).

So, this just one example of India's frequent violation of agreements. Many more examples can be given like this. The reason India does this is because of its economic, political, and military power. And weakness of the neighbouring countries is that they are much smaller and much weaker than him. By exploiting this opportunity, India establishes its hegemon over others. It wants to lead the sovereign countries in such a way that they have to listen to him, and it will not work how the other want.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been established by the efforts of Bangladesh late president Ziaur Rahman in 1985. It is a South Asian regional economic and political organization like ASEAN or African Union. The total number of its members is eight, including the latest accession of Afghanistan. The main objective of the organization is to promote

economic cooperation in member states through multilateral trade and collective self-reliance, social progress, and cultural development within the south region. (Jain, 2005). Its creation, therefore, raised a hope among the smaller countries to live with freedom, sovereignty, and dignity.

First few years since its inception went very well. Multilateral trade, regional political communication and economic connectivity among the countries were improving notably. However, SAARC has failed to live up to such expectation due to India's hegemonic attitude. India became reluctant when it saw that the equal treatment between smaller and bigger countries within the platform. It realized that it may not be able to secure its hegemonic interests over the region. Therefore, it became reluctant towards the SAARC. (Jain, 2005),

Moreover, the two political rival India and Pakistan have been developing different perception within the forum. India wants to deal the bilateral issues through negotiation with the concerned parties bilaterally while Pakistan and most of the members states want to settle it through the SAARC. The main problem is that India has bilateral issues with every neighbouring country. As a result, it will not be able to secure its interests if they are dealt through the SAARC. (Rafiq, 2018). So, India never wants to make the SAARC an active organization. It was trying to find other alternative way to deal the weaker and smaller countries with its own way. Therefore, India begun to form some sub-regional organization excluding Pakistan and China. BBIN and BIMSTEC are the two examples of that where Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, and Nepal have been included as a core parties and China and Pakistan have been excluded from it. By forming all these sub-regional organizations, India is making SAARC ineffective and increasing its dominance over the weaker states through the sub regional organisation. (Rafiq, 2018). As a result of SAARC becoming ineffective, the peace and security of Bangladesh became very weak. Due to the ineffectiveness of SAARC, the market that Bangladesh had throughout the South Asian region has shrunk severely.

Bangladesh has 300 major rivers and 400 branch rivers. Among the, there are at least 54 common rivers between India and Bangladesh which both country share with each other. The 'common rivers' simply means that these rivers are originated from India flowed through different part of India then entered into Bangladesh. then they flow through different part of Bangladesh and then met in the 'Bey of Bengal'. They are actually the same one river but different is that it's one part lies in India and the other part in Bangladesh. although they are physically one river, but they have been given two different name to denote two separate rivers. River Ganga is one of the biggest rivers in India flowed through Murshidabad district of West Bengal. Then it has entered into Bangladesh through Jashore district and took the new name as 'Padma'.

Farmland, agriculture, rice, jute, tea, fishing is the main source of Bangladesh economy. Bangladesh is one of the top rice producer countries. It alone produces 35.650 MT of rice which is 7.5% of the world total production. 80% of the countries people earn their living by working in this industry. Moreover, a huge number of foreign currencies is earned by exporting it abroad.

Bangladesh is the third largest fish producer from inland open water while India is in the top of the ranking list toppling China for the first time in the four decades. Its inland aquaculture contributes 56.44% and inland capture contributes 28.14% to total production in 2016-17. (Mostafa, 2020). According to the World Fisheries and Aquaculture Report (SOFIA 2022) of the food and agriculture organization (FAO) of the United Nations, Bangladesh saw 1.25 million tons of capture fish production in 2020, which was 11% of the global figure, compared to 16% by India 13% by China. (Dhaka Tribune. 2022). According to the FAO's biannual flagship report SOFIA 2022, found that despite the Covid-19 pandemic Bangladesh has increased its fish production by 30,000 tons from 1.22 million tone to 1.25 million tone in 2020 which consolidates its position as world third largest fish producer in the world. (Dhaka Tribune. 2022).

All these earning and production are dependent on Bangladeshi rivers. So, rivers have a fundamental role in the economy and ecology of the of Bangladesh. Without the rivers water, Country's economy cannot survive. If these rivers dry up in any reasons, then millions of people will be unemployed, and thousands of families will become poor. There will be a huge impact on the environment as well. The green forest will die and become desert. As a result of this, many diseases will appear in the society.

Knowing these facts, India is using common rivers as a weapon against Bangladesh. It has built dams on the Indian side of the rivers to stop water supply to Bangladesh. the water diverted to the other rivers of India and sharing these with their other friendly nations such as Myanmar and Thailand depriving Bangladesh. Since India does not allow any water to flow towards Bangladesh, the major rivers of Bangladesh become dry up in dry seasons. On the other hand, during the monsoon season, they open the dams and flows water towards Bangladesh. as a result of excess water, Bangladesh goes under water and it destroys crops, farms, lands, industries, cattle, school, colleges and even the houses where people live.

The Padma is one of the biggest rivers in Bangladesh originated from Ganga. River Ganga originated from Nepal and flows through India. It entered into Bangladesh through Shibganj of Chapai Nawabganj district. Then from this point it was named 'Padma River'. Flowing through different district of Bangladesh, it joins the Megna river near Chadpur district. Later the Padma and the Megna came together and met in the bay of Bengal. One third of Bangladeshi people's livelihood and daily income related to this river. Therefore, local people call it '**Padma is our life**'. India built a massive dam in the Ganga River at the entrance of the Padma in Murshidabad district of West Bengal, which is only 11 miles away from Bangladesh border. This dam is known as '**Farakka Barrage**'. This Farakka dam has stopped the water supply from Ganga to Padma.

Farakka Barrage has affected Bangladesh Economically and ecologically. 37 per cent of total area and 33 per cent of total population dependent on Padma's basin. As a result of reduced flow of Ganga's water Bangladesh has faced problem in the field of Agriculture, industries, fisheries, navigation, and ecology

and so on. (Kawser 2016). Once various cities were built around the Padma River and hundreds of mills and factories were flourished surrounding the rivers basin. Economic growth and infrastructural development increased lips and bounds. But all these factories and development could not survive due to the Farakka Barrage. (Hussain 1998).

To solve the problem, Bangladesh Government took initiative to talk to India. After long discussion both countries agreed to sign an agreement in 1977. After that the agreement has been renewed in 1983 and 1985. In a restless effort of current prime minister Shaikh Hasina, a fresh thirty-year agreement signed in 1996 and a joined river commission set up to manage the relevant all river issues in both countries. According to the agreement, India supposed to provide 35000 cusec waters to Bangladesh. Between 1916 to 2920, Bangladesh never receives more than 11000 cusecs water which far less than the agreement.

India is not only doing this in the case of Padma, but also doing the same with the case of other major rivers. it diverted the flow of Surma, Kushiara, Tista, Feni, and Borak rivers toward the different direction so that the water could not come to Bangladesh. Two million people live in the basin of Tista whose life and livelihood depends on the river. Bangladesh demanded 50% of Tista water but the government of India does not approve anything more than 25% which is not enough for the survival of two million people. Chief minister of West Bengal India Mrs Momota Benargy made objection against any agreement on Tista. (Aktar, 2021). In the meantime, prime minister of Bangladesh made several visits to India and her Indian counterpart Mr Narendra Modi promised to sort out the issue. But the issue has not been sorted yet.

India also occupied 25602 sq. km of maritime area inside Bangladesh maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal. India enjoying this area for decades. Bangladesh has been disputing with India for a long time. But both countries could not resolve the dispute bilaterally even though many agreements allowed to do so. then, Bangladesh decided to pursue international arbitration at the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) in 2009. Finally, the United Nations Hague based tribunal the 'Permanent Court of Arbitration (PAC) ruled in favour of Bangladesh and against India. Among the 25602 sq. of disputed area, 80% of its which is 19467 sq. km has been awarded to Bangladesh. (The Hindu, 2014). A friendly state occupied its friend's water area, stopped water supply and destroying its economy and ecology ignoring all kind of commitments and policies. This is a hegemonic attitude towards its small neighbour.

Military hegemony

Military hegemony describes the usage of military power to ensure the hegemonic position. Nazi Germany's military hegemony in 1930s and early 40s and the USSR's military dominance over the Eastern Europe during the cold war era is the best example of it. In South Asian region, India used its military forces to its majority neighbours including Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bhutan and over the sovereign princely states. Following some historical accounts reflects Indian hegemon over the region and Bangladesh.

In 1947 when the British created two sovereign states Pakistan and India, they also declared 565 semi-sovereign princely state in the region. The princely were given the option to join India or Pakistan or they can remain separate as a sovereign state. Some of them joined India and some with Pakistan and some remain sovereign without joining either side. India, being a hegemonic power annexed them through brutal military force. Their name and geography no more left in the map. (Khan,2021)

Junagadh was annexed in 1948 by ruthless military force killing raping and looting. The force annexation of Junagadh is still an outstanding issue at the UN. Hyderabad was annexed in 1948 by military invasion killing at least 40.000 innocent people. Some other report claimed that about 200.000 to a million when Hyderabad was annexed. Jammu and Kashmir also occupied by both Pakistan and India through a military war in 1965 while it is still an outstanding issue in the UN. India occupied approximately 55%, Pakistan 30% and China 15%. India also occupied Goa, Daman, and Diu through military force involving air, sea, and land strike for 36 hours in 1961. It annexed Sikkim governed by Lhendup Darji from Bhutan in peaceful means. Lhendup handed over it is seeing the brutal invasion of other princely states. India's did it military intervention in Sri Lankan civil war in 1987 but they failed to full fill their dream. India also had a military intervention in Maldives in 1988. India's involvement in Bangladesh independent war in 1971 was also a military intervention in the viewpoint of Pakistan but Bangladesh considers it as an assistance. (Shahadat, 2014), (Khan 2021).

As a neighbouring country of India, Bangladesh is definitely worried seeing the military aggression of India over its other neighbours. Moreover, a class of nationalist's writers are openly writing, and some political parties and their leaders are publicly saying and urging the Indian government to occupy Bangladesh through military means. Bharotio Hindu Parishad (VHP) (World Hindu organisation) Rashtio Shebok Shongo (RSS), Shib Shena and Bharotio Jonota party (BJP) among them are publicly demands for reunification of India. (Shahadat, 2014). In a recent history, Indian Law maker Subramanian Swamy belongs to the Indian ruling party BJP demanded his country to invade Bangladesh and occupy it. (South Asia, 2021). A retired justice of Indian supreme court demanded similar demand in 2013 in public meeting. He said "Pakistan is a artificial country. British divided this country to weaken India. So, India should occupy Pakistan including Bangladesh to reunify India." He also said "in next 15 to 20 years, a new India will emerge in South Asia where Pakistan and Bangladesh will marge with it. (Shahadat, 2014). The secretary general of RSS Dr Mohan Bhagat said that division of India could not solve the Hindu-Muslim communal riots. The only way to establish peace and stability in South Asia is to reunite Bangladesh and Pakistan with India. (Shahadat, 2014). India historian Dr Sodananda Sapri also promoting the concept of united India visiting several parts of India. His followers and students follow his ideology and promoting this idea arranging seminars throughout India. (Shahadat, 2014). For all these reasons it is very logical for Bangladesh to believe that India can launch a military aggression at any time. This believe has gone to its next level when Bangladesh sees military presence in its border and the commencement

of so many symptoms. The following military activities in the border of Bangladesh could demonstrate the further hegemon of India.

Officially, India claimed that it has highest friendly relations with Bangladesh and India backed current Bangladeshi government also claimed his relationship with India is like that of 'Husband and wife relationship'. Despite this, India constructed a '**Barbed Wire Fence (BWF)**' in the Bangladesh-India border and Kill Bangladeshi people in the border and the forces of both sides engage with gunfire often.

Bangladesh and India share a 4096 km long land boundary which is the fifth longest land border in the world. It includes 262 km in Assam, 856 km in Tripura, 318 km in Mizoram, 443 km in Meghalaya and 2217 km in West Bengal. This border came into existence after the British rule ended in 1947 with the creation of two independent state India and Pakistan.

The boundary commission headed by British lawyer Redcliffe drew the border between India and Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan). The boundary line was so confusing in some places that one part of the household remained in India while the other part went to Bangladesh. Two government led by Indira and Mujib made attempt to solve the outstanding border disputes in 1974. (Khan, 2021). Some disputes have been solved while the other still causing problem for both countries. Another important point needs to mention that besides Bangladesh India also has border with China (4057 km), Pakistan (3323 km), Nepal (1770 km), Myanmar (1643 km), and Bhutan (699 km). (Khan, 2021). But except Pakistan and Bangladesh none of the border sealed off by any border security Wall such as barbed wire fence or brick wall. Even though it has security issues and serious border disputes with them.

some examples can be worth mentioning that India and China have serious border dispute and security issues, and this led these two nuclear nations to war in several times. But India never dares to build a border security wall in the disputed border area. Similar border dispute India has with weaker nation like Nepal and Myanmar. But India never builds any wall or security fence along these borders.

Trump administration tried to build a controversial border wall spending \$5.7 billion USD on the border of the United States and Mexico. During his reign the relations between America and Mexico was really hostile over the issue of illegal Mexican and south American migrant enter into America and the drug trafficking on the border area. Despite this, the intellectuals, politicians, economists, human rights activists, and lawmakers of the world protested it and said this action of the United States is inhuman. The debate escalated when humanitarian cause, family separation issues, children's rights, wildlife mortality, migration, altered waterflows and border business came in forefront. But ultimately relationship of US with Mexico was not friendly, and the issues raised by America was quite valid. Therefore, America initiated to build a border wall.

Similar debate sparked when Israel constructed a controversial separation wall in the occupied Palestinian territory. Israel claimed that illegal immigrant from the Palestinian enter into Israel. That is why it has a serious security issue with Palestinian. To protect its people, Israel needs to build a security wall along the border. History demonstrate that Israel and Palestine are engage in war for last seventy years. So, the wall constructed by America in Mexican border and Israel built in Palestine border has strong reasons. Without going into the long debate whether the construction of the wall is justified or not, but it can be said that the bilateral relationship between them is not a relationship of friendship but of enemy. But India's relationship with Bangladesh is different. India has officially declared that Bangladesh is its best friend. So, how does a friendly country build a fence wall on the border of another friendly country?

India accused Bangladesh of some illegal action occurring along the border area. Among them that the people of Bangladesh illegally cross the border and enter into India, they smuggle cattle, and illegal border business. A Bangladesh based human right organisation 'Odhikar' report stated opposite scenario. Indian smugglers export cattle to Bangladesh through the border to sale them in higher price. Smugglers also export illegal drugs, stolen items, and so on. (Chowdhury, 2018).

India has taken some terrible monstrous activity along the border in the name of strengthening security. it ordered its 'Border Security Forces' (BSF) to exercises '**Shot on Site**' policy. Under the policy Indian border guard forces can shoot anybody with or without any reasons. The then BSF Chief said that people should not feel sorry for the victims as they are trying to enter illegally into India and therefore, they may be a legitimate target. (Adams, 2011).

Brad Adams, the executive director of Asia department of 'Human Right Watch' stated in his report that the killing people along Bangladesh border is a routine duty of Indian forces. Around 1000 people have been killed in India Bangladesh Border in between 2001 to 2010. Most of the victims were poor cattle traders and farmers live near the border. The India regular border security forces are involved in this killing mission. But none of the forces has ever been prosecuted. BSF also justify their killing saying that it was self-defence or victim carrying lethal weapons. But so far, no police report found that any victims carrying any sorts of explosive or lethal weapons. (Adams, 2011). 'Odhikar' alleged the BSF in their report for act of rape against Bangladeshi women along the border. Not only that India Kills people and then they leave the dead body near the border or some time even they disclose more cruel face to demonstrate their power. In 2011, a 15-year young Bangladeshi girl '**Felani**' had been shot near the border and then the BSF hanged her body on the fence for 5 hours until she bled to death. (Chowdhury, 2018).

Sometime the Indian Border Security Forces (BSF) and Border Guard of Bangladesh (BGB) engage in gunfire. Such horrific incidents happened in 2005, 2008 and 2013 and even 2019. BGB claimed that the BSF always start firing then they do the same for self-defence. Many security personnel were injured and killed on both sides. A friendly country building a fence wall in his friend's

border, regularly killing its people and engage with gunfire with counter forces. How a friendly country can do all these in regular basis.

In 2009, a horrific military mutiny happened in Border Guard force (BGB) head quarter of Bangladesh. 56 top military officers including its head of staff has been killed by regular soldiers during a revolt. After the massacre, killers have fled taking off their uniform. Liberation war leader Shaikh Mujib has been assassinated after he visited Pakistan in OIC meeting and president Ziaur Rahman assassinated in a dark night just after he returned from China. It is strongly believed that Indian intelligence service RAW was involved behind all these mass murder and assassinations. (Shahadat, 2014). South Asian political analyst like Asif Nazrul, Nurul Kabir, Taj Hashmi, and Mahmudur Rahman believe that this sort of atrocities made by India to control military and political leaders. It wants to give a message of the consequence if any leaders disobey India or does anything against India's interests. This is how India spread its hegemony through military means over Bangladesh.

CONCLUSION:

A regional political contested race has begun in south Asia between India and China. India wants to emerge as an uncontested single superpower while China wants to expand its influence over the region. There are many reasons why India wants to become a superpower. In terms of religion and culture, they are the oldest race in the region. In terms of numbers, Hindus are much more than the Muslims. Economically India is the most developed country in the region. In terms of politics, it is a democratic state with good reputation. Similarly, in terms of size, this country is much bigger than all the countries in the region. Considering the military power, there is no country with a big military power in the region to challenge India. Even though Pakistan is a nuclear nation. With all these power in India's hand, India naturally considers itself a regional power and countries of the region also believe that India is a regional power.

It is still believed Hindu civilization is the oldest dominant culture of the region. All the other civilization including Muslim are newest and came from outside. So, they do not believe in dividing the Hindu land into different countries. Bringing all the divided part of the land together may establish peace in this land. They also believe that in this era of nationalism, it might not be possible to return to such old tradition. So, in this case, they want to establish a dominance over Bangladesh including all other regional small countries.

India's perception is that when a big powerful country can dominate over all other small countries surrounding to it, the political stability comes to the region. Which happen in 19th century in the case of British empire and in Twentieth century for USA. As Bangladesh is Geopolitically important, India wants to keep Bangladesh under its control. For this, it will do whatever its needs to do.

Since the creation of Bangladesh, India supporting the development of Bangladesh by providing cash money, bank loan, and investment. Gradually India moves its friendly policy to a hegemonic policy. India started to breach political and trade agreements. It made an imbalanced trade where huge

amounts of India goods exported to Bangladesh while it is importing very less amount of Bangladeshi goods. It is denied sharing common rivers water with Bangladesh even though there are many treaties between them. It diverted rivers water towards other neighbours and deprived Bangladesh to cause economic and ecological disaster. Being a friend, India continuously kills Bangladeshi people in the border. In the last fifty years, the Indian government has not prosecuted the killers for all these murders.

India believes in hegemonic stability policy which is India want to become a single power in the region and want to control all the other small countries surrounding it. The hegemon power will help to dominate the regional countries and they will not do any activities which may be against the Indian interests. Bangladesh always grateful for India's help from its creation to development. However, it is not agreed with the Indian perception of hegemonic stability policy. Bangladesh experienced that Indian hegemony is a clear threat to its sovereignty and security. It believes that balance of power only can stop Indian hegemony. However, maintaining Balance of power using its own resources against India is very unlikely for it. Because India is much stronger than Bangladesh in all aspects of politics, economy, and military. That is why Bangladesh wants to maintain a balance of power by establishing a friendly relation with China who can resist India's hegemon. China is the most capable country which is next to India and Bangladesh. and the interests and objectives of both countries are same.

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